

Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 00199 071015Z

17

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 OMB-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 ACDA-05 /086 W

----- 001077

R 070931Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5902

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR

SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR GROMYKO VISIT TO TOKYO

SUMMARY: JAPANESE NOT ENCOURAGING ANYONE TO EXPECT MUCH OF SOVIET FONMIN GROMYKO'S UPCOMING FOUR-DAY VISIT TO TOKYO. FEELING MORE CONFIDENT THAN A YEAR AGO, THEY ARE PREPARED FOR INTRANSIGENT AND THREATENING SOVIET POSITION AND WILLING TO FOREGO COMMUNIQUE IF NECESSARY. AT SAME TIME, FONOFF PROFESSIONALS BELIEVE CURRENT STATE OF FOUR POWER RELATIONSHIPS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR GROMYKO TO ADOPT TOO HARD A LINE. PRIVATELY, THEY IMPLY THAT GROMYKO MIGHT MAKE SOME POSITIVE GESTURE DESIGNED TO COMPLICATE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING.
END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING ARE DETAILS ON UPCOMING GROMYKO VISIT,
AS PROVIDED BY FONOFF:

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 00199 071015Z

JANUARY 9TH: ARRIVAL AT HANEDA BY A SPECIAL PLANE: DINNER PARTY

TO BE GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS MIYAZAWA.

10TH: TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA TWICE, IN THE MORNING
AND IN THE AFTERNOON.

11TH: SIGHTSEEING TOUR AND REST.

12TH: CALL ON PRIME MINISTER MIKI IN MORNING: LUNCHEON TO BE GIVEN
BY PRIME MINISTER MIKI: MEETING WITH EMPEROR AND EMPRESS IN AFTER-
NOON: FOLLOWED BY THIRD ROUND OF TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER
MIYAZAWA: DINNER PARTY TO BE GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS
GROMYKO.

13TH: DEPARTURE FROM JAPAN.

2. FONMIN GROMYKO WILL BE ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE,
VICE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIRYUPIN, CHIEF
ASSISTANT TO FONMIN MAKAROV, AND FONMIN SECOND FAR
EASTERN DEPARTMENT DIRGEN SHPECHKO.

3. JAPANESE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING ANYONE TO EXPECT
MUCH OF VISIT. FONMIN MIYAZAWA TOLD AMSSADOR DEC 29
THAT GROMYKO WOULD PROBABLY BE "DRAGGING HIS FEET"
ON ANY SUBJECTS OF SUBSTANCE. HE SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED
WHETHER COMMUNIQUE OF ANY KIND WOULD RESULT FROM
VISIT. FONOFF FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIVDIR ARAI
CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF JAN 7 THAT GOJ PREPARED FOR HEAVY
GOING. HE NOTED THAT SOV AMB TROYANOVSKY HAS CALLED ON
LDP VP SHITNA DEP PRIMIN FUKUDA AND LDP SECGEN NAKASONE IN
LAST THREE WEEKS TO HARP ON STANDARD SOVIET THEMES. AT WORST,
ARAI EXPECTS STRONG POLEMICS FROM GROMYKO AND
STERN WARNINGS THAT CONCLUSION OF A
PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) WITH PEKING AIMED
AT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD DAMAGE JAPAN-SOVIET
RELATIONS. HE ALSO EXPECTS SOVIET OFFER OF PEACE
AND AMITY TREATY (PAT) WHICH WOULD FINESSE TERRITORIAL
ISSUE. ARAI ANTICIPATES SOVIETS WILL LINK ANY
CONCESSIONS TO JAPANESE WITH DEANDS FOR STIFFENING
OF JAPANESE POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE CHINESE.

4. SHOULD WORST CASE FORECAST PROVE ACCURATE,
ARAI SAID JAPAN READY TO STONEWALL SOVIETS AND FORGET
ABOUT COMMUNIQUE. GOJ POSITIONS HAVE NOT CHANGED.
PFT WITH CHINA NOT AIMED AT ANY THIRD COUNTRY.

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 00199 071015Z

JAPAN WILL NOT NEGOTIATE PAT WITH SOVIETS WITHOUT
NEGOTIATING RETURN OF ALL FOUR NORTHERN ISLANDS.

5. ARAI SAID HE FEELS JAPAN IN STRONGER POSITION VIS-A-VIS
SOVIETS THAN WAS CASE A YEAR AGO WHEN FONMIN MIYAZAWA
WENT TO MOSCOW. JAPAN HAS RECOVERED FROM OIL SHOCK
MORE FULLY THAN WAS CASE LAST YEAR: SOVIET ECONOMY
HAS PERFORMED POORLY AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE

IN USSR SEEKS SHAKY: AND US POLICIES EMBODIED IN
PACIFIC DOCTRINE HAVE ALSO HELPED BUILD JAPANESE
CONFIDENCE.

6. ARAI BELIEVES IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR GROMYKO
TO TAKE TOO HARD A LINE DURING THE UPCOMING TALKS.
GROMYKO IS AWARE THAT REOPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH
PEKING IS NEXT ITEM ON JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC AGENDA
AND THAT OVERSEEING SOVIET STANCE WILL DRIVE JAPANESE
FURTHER AND FASTER IN DIRECTION OF PEKING. ARAI
SPECULATES THAT SITUATION MAYBE SOMEWHAT ANALOGOUS
TO THAT OF JANUARY 1972 WHEN GROMYKO LAST VISITED
JAPAN. HIS PURPOSE AT THAT TIME WAS TO SLOW NORMALIZATION
OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING,
AND HE TRIED TO DO SO (UNSUCCESSFULLY IT TURNED OUT)
BY OPENING THE PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE
NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE WITH THE JAPANESE. IN
ADDITION, ARAI FEELS THAT SOVIETS CONCERNED ABOUT
PACIFIC DOCTRINE, AND RECOGNIZE FACT THAT JAPAN IS
SOVIET'S MAJOR CHANNEL FOR A DIPLOMATIC ROLE IN
NORTHEAST ASIA.

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